

No. V.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE
en 1830.

TO THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

LETTER II.

On affairs connected with the French Revolution.—Affairs in Belgium.—Affairs at the Bank in London.

MY LORD DUKE,

1. IN my last letter I proved, that the hired writer of the *Quarterly Review* must have known, in May, that POLIGNAC'S blow was intended to be struck in July. A poor hired mortal like this could not have gotten this knowledge from POLIGNAC. It must have been communicated to him by *somebody in London*; and, when one looks narrowly into the affair, it appears evident, not only that the plot was *known in London beforehand*; but that it was *hatched in London*; that the whole thing was contrived here; instigated here; and that the object of the plot was, not to do any good to the Bourbons; not to uphold *their throne and their power*; but to *serve the purposes of the boroughmongers of England*; to secure to them the quiet enjoyment of the rich fruits of their traffic. Lest you should not know what a *boroughmonger* is, I will describe him to you. He is a man, or, rather, monster, who trafficks in corruption; who buys or sells seats, and who is called a borough-monger as we call a trafficker in iron an ironmonger, or a trafficker in cheese a cheesemonger. Perhaps it would be more proper to call him a *seat-monger*; or more proper still, a *vote-monger*; and then the French term would be *marchand de votes*.

2. It being a matter of great import-

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Sur les affaires en rapport avec la révolution Française—Affaires de la Belgique—Affaires relatives à la Banque d'Angleterre.

MILORD DUC,

1. J'AI prouvé dans ma dernière lettre que le rédacteur du *Quarterly Review*, était instruit, dans le mois de mai, du coup que POLIGNAC se proposait de porter dans le mois de juillet. Un misérable mercénaire de cette espèce n'avait pu en être informé par POLIGNAC lui-même. Il fallait donc qu'il eût eu des communications avec *quelqu'un de Londres*; et en tournant cette affaire dans tous les sens, il devient évident, non-seulement que le complot était *connu d'avance à Londres*; mais même qu'on l'avait *tramé à Londres*; que toute l'intrigue y avait été ourdie et préparée, et que le but de ce complot était, non pas de servir les Bourbons, d'affermir leur trône ou de consolider leur pouvoir; mais bien de *favoriser les projets des boroughmongers* (brocanteurs de la représentation des bourgs) et de leur assurer la paisible jouissance des fruits de leur trafic. Si vous ne savez pas au juste ce que c'est qu'un *boroughmonger*, je vais vous l'apprendre. C'est un homme, ou plutôt un monstre, qui fait un vrai trafic de la corruption; c'est-à-dire qui achète et vend des sièges dans le parlement, et qu'on appelle un *boroughmonger*, comme on appelle un homme qui achète et vend du fer, un *ironmonger*, ou celui qui achète ou vend du fromage un *cheesemonger*. Peut-être serait-il plus exact de dire, un *seatmonger* (un marchand de sièges) ou plus encore, un *votemonger* (un marchand de votes). C'est du moins ainsi qu'on l'appellerait en Français.

2. Il est très important d'abord que

ance that the French nation now clearly understand, not only what a borough-monger is, but also what is the extent of the traffick, that nation ought to be informed of the following undeniable facts; that is to say, that, in 1793, Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, presented a petition to the House of Commons, signed by himself and others, stating, "that a *decided majority* of that House was *returned by one hundred and fifty-four men, partly peers, and partly great commoners*, and by the ministry *of the day*;" that he offered to prove the allegation by witness at the bar of the House, and that he was not permitted to bring his witnesses to the bar; that there was an appendix to this petition, containing a list of the *names* of all the *peers* and *great commoners*, who thus returned the members, exhibiting the number of members returned by each; and that this list is recorded in the *Annual Register* for the year 1793; that, in 1779, the House of Commons had resolved, that *an attempt* to traffick in seats in that House was *highly criminal in a minister of the king*; that it *was an attack on the dignity and honour* of the House, an infringement on *the rights and liberties of the people*, *and an attempt to sap the basis of our free and happy constitution*;" that, on the 25th April, 1809, LORD CASTLEREAGH, then a minister of the king, having been proved to have thus trafficked, the House resolved, "that it was *its bounden duty to maintain, at all times, a jealous guard on its purity*;" *but the attempt, in the present instance, not having been carried into effect*, the House did not think it necessary to proceed to any *criminating resolutions*;" that, alas! in only sixteen days after this, Mr. MADOCKS, member for Boston, accused this same Castlereagh, together with two other ministers of the king, not only of trafficking in a seat, but of having *completed the bargain, and carried it into full effect*; that, having made this charge, Mr. Madocks moved, that the House should *inquire* into the matter; that the House then debated upon this motion; that there were *three hundred and ninety-five* members present; and that (hear it, Frenchmen!) *three hundred and ten voted against all inquiry*;

tout Français soit bien fixé non-seulement sur la vraie signification du mot *boroughmonger*; mais encore sur l'étendue de son trafic. Il faut ensuite qu'il connaisse les faits suivants que personne ne saurait nier: savoir; qu'en 1793, Mr. GREY, aujourd'hui le Comte de GREY, présenta une pétition à la Chambre des Communes, signée par lui et par beaucoup d'autres individus, où l'on déclara que la *majorité* des membres du parlement étaient élue par *cent cinquante-quatre* individus, tant *pairs* que *rôturiers de la première classe*, et par le ministère existant; que Mr. GREY offrit de prouver cette allégation par des témoins à la barre de la Chambre des Communes; mais qu'on ne lui permit pas de les produire; qu'à cette pétition était joint un appendix contenant la liste et les noms des *personnages* qui avaient la faculté d'élire cette majorité, et désignant le nombre de membres élus par chacun d'eux; et que cette liste se trouve enrégistrée sur les registres annuels de 1793; qu'en 1779, la Chambre des Communes déclara que tout moyen de corruption employé par un *ministre quelconque* pour l'admission des membres dans la chambre basse serait réputé *criminel*, et considéré *comme une atteinte portée à la dignité* et à *l'honneur* des représentants de la nation, comme une violation des droits et des libertés du peuple; et enfin *comme une tentative de sapper les bases de notre excellente constitution*;" que le 25 Avril, 1809, LORD CASTLEREAGH, alors ministre, ayant *été accusé d'avoir brocanté un siège* dans le parlement, la Chambre des Communes déclara qu'il était de son *devoir impératif de veiller, en tout temps, et avec un soin scrupuleux, sur tout ce qui pourrait compromettre sa pureté*; mais attendu que la tentative *de Lord Castlereagh n'avait pas eu d'effet*, elle ne jugeait pas nécessaire, *dans cette circonstance, de procéder criminellement à son égard*;" que, seize jours après cette déclaration, Mr. MADOCKS, député de Boston, accusa ce même CASTLEREAGH, et deux autres ministres, non seulement d'avoir essayé de vendre un siège, mais même d'avoir *conclu et exécuté le marché*; qu'à la suite d'une accusation aussi grave, Mr. Madocks fit une motion à l'effet de prier

and that, too, as the speakers in the debate openly declared, "*because this traffick was as notorious as the sun at noon day.*"

3. It is, then, evident, that the boroughmongers must have had a great desire to put an end to free election by ballot in France; for, if that system continued there; if France were happy and prosperous under that system, how was England, suffering so severely under this system, to be expected to remain long in submission to it? In fact, we, the Reformers (being nineteen-twentieths of the nation) now had, in addition to all our other arguments, this: "There is France prosperous and tranquil with free elections; and why should not we be the same? America, you may say, is no precedent for us; but France! France with a king and peers and an established church; if she be tranquil and prosperous with free elections, why should not the people of England have the power freely to choose their representatives?" To this argument there was no answer; and the boroughmongers saw, that they must either destroy the grounds of the argument; or must, before long, give up their profitable trade. The latter was not to be thought of; and therefore they resolved on the former; that is to say, to destroy the free elections in France. Our false or foolish newspapers talk of Metternich's plots. Austria had no interest in plunging France into confusion; she had no interest in putting down free elections in France; she had no reason to fear the effect of the example; the French were tranquil and contented, because they were prosperous; the king of France was in the enjoyment of quite power enough; to disturb the tranquillity of France was the interest of nobody in the world, our boroughmongers only excepted; but, it was their manifest interest that precisely that should be done which Polignac attempted to do. For, if he had succeeded, the boroughmongers would then have answered our

la Chambre d'investiguer cette affaire; qu'il s'éleva des débats sur sa motion; qu'il y avait trois cent quatre vingt-quinze membres présents; et que, (entendez-le bien, Français!) trois cent dix membres votèrent contre toute espèce d'enquête, "par la raison, ainsi qu'on le déclara dans les débats, qu'un trafic de cette nature était aussi notoire que la clarté du soleil en plein midi."

3. Il est donc bien évident que les boroughmongers d'Angleterre avaient vivement désiré de mettre un terme à l'élection libre du scrutin en France; car si les Français continuaient à jouir de cet avantage; s'ils se trouvaient heureux et satisfaits sous ce système, le moyen que les Anglais qui souffrent tant sous le leur, s'y soumissent long-temps et avec patience? En effet, nous, avocats de la réforme parlementaire, qui formons aujourd'hui la 19^e partie de la nation, nous pouvons maintenant ajouter à tant d'autres arguments celui que la France est heureuse et tranquille, au milieu de ses élections libres, et pourquoi ne le serions-nous pas aussi? L'Amérique peut bien ne pas établir de précédent pour nous; mais la France, la France, qui, comme nous, a un roi, des pairs et une église établie, si elle est heureuse et prospère avec des élections libres, pourquoi le peuple Anglais n'aurait-il pas le pouvoir de choisir librement ses représentants? Il n'y avait pas de réponse à un pareil argument; c'est pourquoi les boroughmongers avaient senti la nécessité, ou d'en détruire les bases, ou de se voir forcés d'abandonner leur commerce lucratif. On ne pouvait songer à ce dernier parti, il fallait donc s'arrêter au premier; c'est-à-dire à détruire les élections libres en France. Nos journaux, mensongers ou ignorants, parlent des complots de Metternich; mais l'Autriche n'avait aucun intérêt à bouleverser la France; elle n'avait aucun intérêt à détruire la liberté de ses élections; elle n'avait, en un mot, rien à craindre de son exemple. Le peuple Français était heureux et tranquille parce qu'il prospérait; le roi jouissait d'un pouvoir assez étendu, qui donc, si ce n'est nos boroughmongers, avait intérêt à détruire la liberté des élections en France? Il n'y a donc pas le moindre doute qu'il ne fût de leur plus grand intérêt qu'on fût ce que Polignac a essayé de faire; car s'il

petitions thus: "There! you see the effects of free election in France! "The French have *tried* the wild thing, "and they have been obliged to abandon it; therefore, hold your tongues."

4. Thus, then, they had the most powerful of all possible motives to instigate POLIGNAC to the deed; and now let us see the facts in support of the opinion, that *they did instigate* him, and indeed, that amongst them the plot was hatched. 1. POLIGNAC had lived in England during a great part of his life, and had been constantly amongst our boroughmongers. 2. The plot began to be talked of in France, immediately after he went from England to France, in August 1829. 3. The pamphlet of COTTU, which was a sort of manifesto in justification beforehand of the *coup d'état*, was published at Paris early in 1830, and *before the Chambers were dissolved*. 4. That, in this pamphlet COTTU stated, that MONTESQUIEU was wrong in describing the English House of Commons as *representing the people at large*; for that of the 658 members, the *aristocracy and the crown chose the whole except 171*; and he asserted, that *this ought to be the case in France*. 5. That this COTTU, who is a lawyer (and a counsellor of the *royal court* at Paris), had, before he wrote his pamphlet, *been for several years, a part of his time, in this country*; that he was feasted by the boroughmongers, and particularly by those lawyers who are their tools; that he was taken about to public places, and was *seen frequently sitting even on the bench with the judges*. 6. That, after all this, he goes from London to Paris, and there publishes a pamphlet to show, that the aristocracy and the crown choose all the members of the House of Commons except 171, and that *this ought to be the case in France*. 7. That, returning now to the QUARTERLY REVIEW, the article, which I quoted from in my last letter (No. 4 of Le Tableau) is what is called a *critique* on this very pamphlet of COTTU! or, rather, it is an *eulogium* on it. But the curious fact is this, that COTTU's pamphlet was *first written in English*, and then *translated into French*! This is the curious and interesting fact; and

eût réussi, nos *boroughmongers* auraient répondu à nos pétitions: "Voilà les effets des élections libres en France; les Français ont *essayé* de ce mode absurde, et ils ont été forcés d'y renoncer: cessez donc vos plaintes, et taisez-vous."

4. Ainsi, donc, les *boroughmongers* avaient le plus puissant des motifs pour exciter Polignac à son entreprise. Voyons maintenant les faits qui viennent à l'appui de cette opinion, ou plutôt qui prouvent qu'elle avait été tramée par eux. 1°. Polignac avait passé la majeure partie de sa vie en Angleterre, et avait toujours été au milieu des *boroughmongers*. 2°. Il commença à être question du complot en France, peu de temps après son voyage de Londres à Paris, dans le mois d'Août 1829. 3°. La brochure de COTTU, qui est une espèce de manifeste pour justifier d'avance le coup d'état, fut publié à Paris au commencement de 1830, et avant la *dissolution de la Chambre des Députés*. 4°. COTTU, dans sa brochure, affirme que Montesquieu a *tort d'avancer que la Chambre des Communes d'Angleterre représente la masse du peuple*, attendu que sur 658 membres, *l'aristocratie et la couronne les choisissent tous*, à l'exception de 171, et il ajoute qu'il devrait en être de même en France. 5°. Ce COTTU, avocat, récemment nommé conseiller à la cour royale de Paris, avait passé, avant d'écrire sa brochure, *une partie de son temps dans ce pays-ci*, pendant plusieurs années; il avait toujours été parfaitement accueilli par les agents subalternes des *boroughmongers*, qui lui avaient donné des fêtes, ainsi que ces avocats, qui sont leurs instruments; on le conduisait dans tous les endroits publics, et on le même vit fréquemment assis sur les bancs des juges. 6°. Etant allé ensuite de Londres à Paris, il publia une brochure, dans laquelle il s'efforce de prouver que tous les membres de la Chambre des Communes, à l'exception de 171, sont élus par l'aristocratie et la couronne, et maintient que cela *devrait être de même en France*. 7°. Revenant au QUARTERLY REVIEW, l'article que j'ai cité dans ma dernière lettre (No. 5 du Tableau d'Angleterre) est ce qu'on appelle une *critique* de cette même brochure de COTTU, ou plutôt il en fait *l'éloge*. Mais ce qu'il y a de curieux dans tout ceci, c'est que la bro-

of this fact no man who understands the two languages can possibly doubt. The title is, at the head of the critique, given in *French*, thus: "DE LA NÉCESSITÉ D'UNE DICTATURE. Par M. Cottu, conseiller à la cour royale de Paris. "Publié à Paris, 1830." But not a word is said about an *English translation*; and yet all the extracts are given in *English*, and not in *French*! So that though there was no translation published, the reviewer had a translation ready for his use; or, rather, he had the original! This must be clear to every man who reads the extracts, and who understands both the languages. In all the extracts there is not a single *gallicism*; and, in the French of COTTU, *ANGLICISMS* are incessant. If our friends at Paris look out sharply about COTTU, that will get at the proof positive of all this.

5. Be it also remembered, that we read of the *flight* of COTTU, as soon as the plot had failed! And whither did he flee? Not to Austria: not to Prussia: not to Belgium. No, but to the land of boroughmongers, or *marchands de votes*! He expected the plot to succeed: he had no doubt of this; and his worthy colleague of the Quarterly Review had no more doubt of the success than he had of his own existence; and he expressly says, that he publishes his article to "*prepare the people of England for what is to be done, and to prevent them from being shocked at it!*" How the boroughmongers must have been disappointed and mortified at the result! Little did they imagine that they should see their man, COTTU, be compelled to flee; and still less that they should see the people of England congratulating the French that they had prevented boroughmongering (le *brocantage des votes*) from being introduced into France! The people of France saw clearly what was intended for them; an honest and able press had explained to them what boroughmongering meant; it was against boroughmongering that the *Breton Associations* had wisely declared; and it was to keep out of their country this accursed system, that the valiant people of Paris

chure de ce COTTU fut d'abord écrite en *Anglais*, puis traduite en *Français*. C'est un fait aussi curieux qu'intéressant, et quiconque entend les deux langues, ne saurait en avoir le moindre doute. La critique, en Français, est intitulée "DE LA NÉCESSITÉ D'UNE DICTATURE par M. COTTU, Conseiller à la Cour Royale de Paris, publié à Paris en 1830." Il n'y est nullement question de la traduction, et cependant tous les extraits sont donnés en *Anglais*, et non en *Français*, en sorte que, bien qu'il n'y eût pas de traduction publiée, l'éditeur de la Revue devait en avoir une toute prête, ou plutôt il en avait l'original. Rien ne saurait être plus évident pour quiconque lit les extraits, et qui entend les deux langues. Il n'y a pas un seul *gallicisme* dans les extraits, tandis que le Français de COTTU est plein d'*anglicismes*. Si nos amis de Paris ont l'œil sur ce COTTU, ils auront des preuves positives de tout ce que j'avance.

5. Il ne faut pas aussi perdre de vue que ce COTTU a pris la fuite aussitôt que le complot a manqué; et où s'est-il réfugié? non pas en Autriche, en Prusse, ou dans la Belgique; mais dans le pays des *marchands de votes*. Il avait compté sur le succès du complot, ou plutôt il n'en avait aucun doute, et son digne collègue, le rédacteur du QUARTERLY REVIEW, n'en doutait pas plus que de son existence, car il dit qu'il publie son article à l'effet de préparer le peuple Anglais à ce qui va avoir lieu, et pour l'empêcher d'en être choqué. Combien les *boroughmongers* doivent avoir été désappointés et mortifiés du résultat! Ils ne s'attendaient guère à voir leur créature, COTTU, forcé de prendre la fuite; bien moins encore à voir le peuple anglais féliciter les Français d'avoir empêché que le *brocantage des votes* fût introduit en France. Le peuple français a vu clairement ce qu'on lui réservait. D'habiles et courageux journalistes lui ont fait sentir ce que c'était que le *brocantage des votes*; l'association bretonne s'était déclarée hautement contre ce *brocantage*, et c'est pour se soustraire à cet abominable système, que les braves Parisiens ont répandu leur sang. En combinant toutes ces circonstances, tout homme muni d'un peu de sens commun n'aura désormais

shed their blood! No man of common sense can, when he has put all the circumstances together, doubt that the plot was hatched and urged on to execution by the English boroughmongers; it was they who seduced POLIGNAC and his colleagues, and that, too, by means that they always have at command and always employ; and let the Bourbons remember, that to this corrupt and corrupting band they owe the loss of their crown.

6. And now, my Lord Duke, was it not rather curious, that the parliament should have been *dissolved just before the plot broke out*? The parliament was dissolved on the 24th of July, the ordinances signed on the 25th, and issued on the 26th. It is clear, that the hired man of the Review knew, *in May*, that the plot was prepared; and without supposing that *you* had any thing to do in *hatching* the plot; without supposing that you *approved* of the plot; without either of these, we must suppose that you knew something of what was *intended* to be done, and also something about the *time* for doing it. Now, *no reasons* were given for the *sudden* dissolution of the parliament: the business of the session was *not done*; the *supplies were not all voted*; many important matters *remained unfinished*; the season for a general election would have been better after harvest than before. However, without imputing *motives* for this sudden dissolution, one cannot help observing that you were *lucky* in it; for, if the Houses had been sitting only four days longer, what a questioning and motioning and speechifying about this French plot! In short, nothing ever was so *apropos* as this hasty dissolution; and, if you were not acquainted with the *very hour* for the execution of the plot, all that I can say is, that your *luck* in the field has not deserted you in the cabinet.

7. You seem, however, to be less lucky as to affairs in BELGIUM; with regard to which I shall, at present, only say that, however mortifying to you

aucun doute que ce complot avait été tramé par nos *boroughmongers*, et qu'ils en avaient pressé l'exécution. Eux seuls avaient séduit POLIGNAC et ses collègues par les moyens qu'ils ont toujours en leur pouvoir et qu'ils ne cessent d'employer; et les Bourbons ne doivent pas oublier que c'est à cette clique *corrompue et corruptrice* qu'ils doivent la perte de leur couronne.

6. De plus, Milord Duc, n'est-ce pas une circonstance remarquable que le parlement fut dissous peu de jours avant l'exécution du complot? Le parlement fut dissous le 24 de juillet, les ordonnances furent signées le 25, et publiées le 26. Il est clair que le rédacteur mercénaire du QUARTERLY REVIEW savait, dans le mois de mai, que le complot se préparait, et sans supposer que vous ayez pris part à cette *trame*, sans supposer que vous l'ayez *approuvée*, sans supposer, dis-je, aucune de ces deux circonstances, il est raisonnable de supposer que vous aviez quelque connoissance de ce qu'on *avait intention* de faire, comme aussi de *l'époque* où l'affaire devait avoir lieu. Remarquez bien qu'on ne donna aucune raison pour la prompte dissolution du parlement; que les affaires de la session n'étaient pas terminées, qu'on n'avait pas voté les subsides, et que beaucoup d'affaires importantes étaient encore sur le tapis. La saison, d'ailleurs, pour une élection générale aurait été bien plus favorable avant qu'après la moisson. Cependant sans mettre aucun motif en avant pour cette dissolution *soudaine*, on ne peut s'empêcher d'avouer qu'elle vous a bien *réussi*; car si le parlement eût siégé quatre jours de plus, que de questions, que de motions, que de beaux discours on aurait fait sur ce complot français! Rien, au fait, ne pouvait venir plus à *propos* que cette dissolution; et si vous n'étiez pas instruit de *l'heure précise* où le complot devait s'exécuter, tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que votre *bonheur* sur le champ de bataille ne vous a pas abandonné dans le cabinet.

7. Toutefois il paraît que les affaires de la Belgique ne vous sont pas qu'aussi favorables. A ce sujet, je me contenterai de vous dire, pour le mo-

may be the prospect of seeing the *high mound* and the *big lion* and the *Hanoverian* monument and other triumphal signs, on the "field of Waterloo," swept away; however mortifying to you may be the prospect of seeing, in the hands of republicans, that estate of two thousand pounds, or 50,000 francs a year, mentioned in your peerage; however mortifying to you to bear, after that, the title of "PRINCE OF WATERLOO;" however mortifying all these, or any of these may be, I do hope, that no one will dream of our *meddling* with this matter, Waterloo having, in all conscience, already cost us quite enough. Let them go, mon Prince, mound, lion, monument, title and all; and let us be content with our Waterloo-bridge, Waterloo-arch, Waterloo-gallery, and our squares, places, and streets, and especially with our *Waterloo-statue*, (which stands within sight of your own window) though the people did, the other day, put a dirty broken broomstick in his hand, and pipe in his mouth, and pelted him with stones!

8. However, the Belgians, and all other nations, have a better security for our pacific conduct than our moderation in desires; namely, that which is given them *in the emptiness of our purse*. I showed this clearly in the two first Numbers of the *TABLEAU*. BARING said, and he said truly, that we could not go to war without making paper a *legal tender*; that is to say, without an issue of *assignats*. But, is he sure that we shall not see this even *without going to war*? I am not sure of it, and I do not think that you are, though a prime minister and a prince. The newspapers are trying to disguise the fact from the people; but the drain of bullion and of gold coin is now so great, that it cannot continue long without producing an event similar to that of 1797! Upon what a thread, what a straw, what a cobweb, the whole system hangs!

From what have the *present little troubles at Paris arisen*? Not from political feelings or intrigues, but from

ment, que quelque mortification que vous puissiez éprouver en étant à la veille de voir ce *haut monticule*, ce *lion gigantesque*, ce monument *hanovérien*, et tant d'autres signes de triomphe sur "le champ de Waterloo," disparaître entièrement, quelque mortification que vous puissiez éprouver en voyant bientôt dans la possession des républicains ce beau domaine de 2,000 livres sterling, ou 50,000 francs de revenu mentionné dans vos titres de pair; quelque mortification enfin que vous puissiez éprouver en voyant ces événements ou un seul d'entre eux se réaliser, j'ose espérer que personne ne songera à s'immiscer dans cette affaire, car, en bonne conscience, Waterloo nous coûte déjà assez. Laissez tout disparaître, mon Prince; monticule, lion, monument, titre, et contentons-nous de notre pont de Waterloo, de notre arc triomphal de Waterloo, de votre galerie, de nos places, de nos rues, et surtout de votre statue de Waterloo, que vous voyez de vos croisées, quoique le peuple lui ait tout récemment mis un tronçon de balai à la main, une pipe à la bouche, et qu'il l'ait abîmée à coups de pierre.

8. Du reste, les Belges et toutes les autres nations ont une garantie plus forte de nos dispositions pacifiques que la modération de nos *désirs*; je veux dire celle que leur offre le vide de nos coffres. C'est ce que j'ai démontré clairement dans les deux premiers numéros du "*TABLEAU*." BARING a dit, et a dit avec juste raison, que nous ne saurions entreprendre une guerre, sans donner un cours légal au papier-monnaie, c'est-à-dire, sans faire de nouvelles émissions d'*assignats*. Mais est-il bien certain que cela n'ait pas lieu *sans faire la guerre*? Je n'en suis pas bien certain, et moi je doute fort que vous le soyez vous-même, tout premier ministre et tout prince que vous êtes. Les journaux essaient de cacher ce fait au peuple; mais les demandes d'or en lingots et monnayé sont si grandes, dans ce moment, qu'elles ne sauraient durer long-temps sans produire un événement semblable à celui de 1797. Vraiment tout le système ne tient qu'à un fil, à une paille, ou à une toile d'araignée.

9. D'où sont provenus les petits *désordres qui viennent d'avoir lieu à Paris*? non pas d'intrigues politiques, mais du

the want of employment, and that from the want of money, and that from the check given to the discounting of paper. Such must always be the final effects of every system of *fictitious capital*. But, if France feel this now, with no bank-note under 20*l.* sterling; with a metallic circulating money, and with a paper not amounting to, perhaps, a *fiftieth* part of her specie, what, in case of a *shock*, should we feel, whose paper, as compared with our specie, is as about four to five? What would a *shock* produce here? Even as things now are, people are, and very *wisely* too, *pressing for gold* in exchange for paper; what, then, would be the consequence of the *sound of war*? As there appeared no obvious reason for dissolving the parliament so suddenly before we heard of the *coup d'état*, so there now appears no obvious reason for calling it together at so early and unusual a season; and my opinion is, that the *departure of the bul- lion is the main cause*. This can, indeed, be put a stop to by an *order in council*, as it was in 1797; and, in this way it must be done, if done at all; because it must be done without people knowing that it is about to be done. But there is something to do besides stopping the demands for gold; there are *small notes to issue*; there is a *legal tender to establish*; and these were not, on the former occasion, the work of an order in council. However, time will tell us all about it.

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 1st Sept. 1830.

défaut d'emploi et du manque d'argent: et les deux ensemble de la répression de l'escompte. Tel doit être, à la fin, l'effet produit par tout système de *capital factice*. Mais si la France éprouve cet inconvénient, en n'ayant pas de billet de banque au-dessous de vingt livres sterling, avec une circulation d'espèces métalliques, et un papier-monnaie qui n'excède probablement pas la cinquantième partie de son numéraire, quelle sera notre situation, *en cas de choc*, à nous, dont le papier-monnaie est dans la proportion de quatre à cinq avec l'or? Quelles seraient, pour nous, les suites d'un choc? Dans l'état même où nous nous trouvons maintenant, chacun se *presse et avec raison*, de changer son papier ne or; que serait-ce au premier cri de guerre? De même qu'il n'existait aucun motif *apparent* pour dissoudre le parlement d'une manière si soudaine, avant d'avoir appris le coup d'état, de même on ne voit point maintenant de raison *apparente* pour l'assembler dans une saison aussi précoce qu'extraordinaire. Pour moi, je suis d'avis que la *disparition de l'or en est la vraie cause*. On peut, à la vérité, arrêter les demandes d'or par un simple *ordre du conseil*, comme cela arriva en 1797, et comme on devra nécessairement le faire, si le cas y echoit, parce qu'il faudra que cela se fasse sans que le peuple se doute qu'une telle mesure va avoir lieu; mais il y a autre chose à faire pour empêcher une trop grande demande d'espèces; il faut *émettre de nouveau de petits billets de banque*; il faut leur donner un cours légal; et à l'époque dont nous avons parlé, ces deux mesures ne furent point produites par un ordre du cabinet. Le temps nous révélera tout.

G'ME. COBBETT.

Kensington, le 1er Septembre, 1830.

TO
THE CONDUCTORS OF THE
JOURNALS OF PARIS.

Kensington, 1st Sept.,

GENTLEMEN,

FIRST I have to express to you my thanks for what you have recently done for the cause of freedom; and next to request of you to read the following HISTORICAL SKETCH, which is prefixed

to my History of George IV., the first Number of which is published this day. From our press, which, as far as relates to politics, is, *generally speaking*, at once the most stupid and the most corrupt in the world, you can, as to matters of government, learn nothing on which you can rely. In my whole life I have never, till now, been able to cause my voice to be heard in France. In all the ways that can be imagined,

direct and indirect, by bonds, by imposts, by restrictions, by prohibitions, levelled directly and solely at me, this Government and Parliament have been, for more than twenty years, endeavouring to check the circulation of my writings. During the war I was, of course, cut off from France, but not more completely than in the time of the Bourbons, whose government appeared to be as much under the beck of this, as if France had been a *colony* of England. Thanks to you, and to the brave people of Paris, France is now open to me, as well as to others; and I will show my gratitude by doing my utmost to enable you to form correct opinions relative to the state of this country. I intend to do this by the means of *weekly Numbers*, which I intend to publish here in French as well as in English, until I have settled on some regular mode of having them published in Paris.

In the meanwhile I hereby request my son JAMES, who is now in Paris, to translate the first, second, and third Numbers; to have them and also the fourth and fifth Numbers printed in Paris; to cause one copy of each to be sent to *each member of the legislature*; if practicable, to *every prefect* in France; one to every *proprietor of the Paris journals*; and as many Numbers as he may think proper to the *divers schools of science*, and particularly to the gentlemen of the *Polytechnic School*, whom I beg to accept of them as a mark of my admiration of their conduct in the glorious combat against the tools of the English boroughmongers. If, in the fulfilment of this my request, you, gentlemen, or any one of you, should be able conveniently to aid my son with your advice, you will by so doing very much oblige,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

SKETCH

Of the History of England, from the Protestant Reformation to the Regency of Geo. IV.

THAT change in the religion of England, which took place in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and which is generally called the REFORMATION, has produced, in pro-

cess of time, a still greater, and a most fatal, change in the nature of the English Government. Before that event, full one-third part, and, indeed more, of the real property of the country belonged to the church; that is to say, it was held *in trust* by the clergy of different denominations, as bishops, priests, monks, nuns, &c., for the maintenance of religion, and for the relief of the poor and the stranger. These trustees, were, therefore, in fact, the lords, or owners of something approaching to one-half of the whole of the houses and lands of England.

From the very nature of the Catholic institutions this state of things gave the common people great advantages, and in various ways, especially as it prevented them from being *borne down by the aristocracy*. Where there is an aristocracy who are hereditary lawgivers, and are sustained by a law of primogeniture, the commons, if left without some power to protect them against such an aristocracy, must, in the nature of things, be, whatever they may call themselves, the slaves of that aristocracy. This protection, the commons, or people of England, found in the Catholic church, which not only had an interest always opposed to the encroachments of the aristocracy, but which was, from the very nature of its institutions, the cause of a distribution of property favourable to the commons. In the first place, it took a tenth part of the whole of the produce of the earth, and out of it relieved the wants of the poor, the aged, the widow, and the orphan: next, the celibacy of the clergy, that is of the great mass of landowners, necessarily took from them all motive for accumulating wealth, and caused them to distribute it, in some way or other, amongst the commons: next, the monasties, whose estates were immense, could possess no private property, and were, of course, easy landlords, let their lands at low rents, and on leases for lives, so that the renters were, in fact, pretty nearly the *proprietors*; one and the same family of farmers held the same farm for ages; and hence arose the term YEOMAN, which is retained in our law-writs, but which has now no application. The nobility were compelled to follow, in this respect, the example of

the church; and thus the commons were the *joint-proprietors*, in fact, of the whole country; they acknowledged the owner as *lord* of the soil; but they held the estates for lives; they had rents or fines to pay, at stated times, but with this reservation, the estates were theirs; they could not, like rack-renters, be turned out at the pleasure of the owner; and, of course, they were independent, free, and bold, just the reverse of the rack-renters of the present day. Another great cause of public happiness, arising out of this distribution of property, was, that those great landlords, the clergy, always, from the very nature of the institutions, resided in the midst of their estates, and, of course, expended their revenues there, returning to those who laboured the fair share of the fruits of their labour; and, though the aristocracy had no such positive ties with regard to residence, example must have had, in this respect also, great effect upon them.

The Reformation broke up this state of society in England; and it has, at last, produced that state which we now behold; a state of rack-renters, of paupers, and of an aristocracy making the laws and burdening the commons, or people, at their pleasure. The Reformation took from the church, that is, in fact, from the people at large, of whom the clergy were the trustees, all their share of the property of the country. If the makers of this Reformation had *divided this property amongst the people*; if they had sold it and applied the proceeds to the use of the nation at large, as was done by the makers of the *French Revolution* of 1789, there would have been no real injury done to the commons; but this is what the makers of the Reformation did not do; they did precisely the contrary; and this too from a very obvious cause. The French Revolution was made *by the people*; the English Reformation was made *by the aristocracy* against the wishes of the people. The French revolutionists divided the property amongst the people; the English aristocracy took the property to themselves!

But this was not all that they did against the people. Having become the lords of the immense estates of the church, they, as was natural, began to

put an end to that *joint-proprietorship* which had before existed, and, the lives dying off, they assumed the absolute possession: the race of *yeomen* was, little by little, swept away, and the occupants became rack-renters, wholly dependent on the will of the aristocracy. From even the parochial clergy the aristocracy had taken a great part of their revenue, while, at the same time, they allowed them to marry; and thus were the poor left without relief, and the churches without revenues to keep them in repair. Yet it was absolutely necessary that provision should be made for these objects; for, in the reign of Elizabeth, so great and so general was become the misery of the people, and so manifestly was open rebellion approaching, that it was, after numerous efforts to avoid it, finally resolved on to make *by law* an effectual and permanent provision for the poor, and for the repair of the churches. And how did *reason* and *justice* say that this ought to be done? By a tax, certainly, exclusively on the property taken from the church and given to the aristocracy. This is what ought to have been done; and even this would have been but a poor compensation for all that the commons had lost; but instead of this a law was made *to tax all the people* for the relief of the poor and for the repairing of the churches; and this tax for England alone, now amounts to the enormous sum of seven millions and a half of pounds sterling in a year.

The STUARTS, who came to the throne immediately after the making of this law, besides being a feeble race of men, had not the protection which Elizabeth had found in the dread which the people had had of seeing the crown on the head of a Frenchman. The Stuarts, neither loved nor respected, had not the power to withstand the effects of the old grudge against the aristocracy, combined, as it now was, with the most furious fanaticism, hardly got quietly along through the reign of James I.; and, in that of Charles I., had to undergo all the sufferings of a revolution. The REPUBLICANS, amidst all their fury against the remains of the Catholic church, did not forget *its estates*; and, in spite of the arguments of the *Royalists*, proceeded very coolly, and, as all the world must say, very

justly, to take the estates back again for public use.

The restoration of the STUARTS, which, like that of Louis XVIII., was produced partly by the tyranny of the man at the head of affairs and partly by treachery, restored these immense estates to the aristocracy; but did not restore to the CROWN the estate which the Republicans had taken from it; so that, while the aristocracy retained all their enormous increase of wealth and power, the king, like the poor, became a charge on the public revenue; and thus were king as well as people placed at the mercy of the aristocracy; a state in which they have remained from that day to this.

Next came the "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" of 1688; and here the reader must have his senses at command to enable him to set the delusion of *names* at defiance. This revolution was *made by the aristocracy*, and for their *sole benefit*, and, like the Reformation, *against the wish of the people*. It was forced upon the nation by *an army brought from abroad*; it was made by laws, passed by those who had not been chosen by the people to make laws; and that the revolution was for the benefit of the aristocracy, what need we of more proof than is contained in the following facts, well known to all the world; that James II., who was a Catholic himself, wished to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants as to all civil rights; that the nation was then but at only about fifty years from the death of many who had witnessed the transfer of the church-estates to the aristocracy, only at about forty years from the time when those estates had been taken from the aristocracy by the republicans, and applied to public uses, and only at about *thirty years* from the time when the estates had been given back to the aristocracy again; that it was evident, that if the king could be a Catholic himself, and were permitted to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants, all men would say, that the Reformation was *unnecessary*, and that the estates had been taken from the Catholic church *unjustly*, from which conclusion there could be but one step to the *resumption of those estates by the nation*.

To these facts add the following;

that the Prince of Orange was not invited to England by any meeting or assemblage of the people, nor by any person or body of persons chosen by the people for that purpose, or for the making of laws; that he was invited to England by the aristocracy, and through agents sent to Holland by them; that the Dutch army brought over by William, marched to London with him and displaced the English soldiers stationed there; that the general commanding the English army went over to William; and that laws were immediately passed for *disarming suspected persons*, and for enabling the new government to *put into prison whomsoever it suspected of designs hostile to it*. Add these facts to the former, and then nothing further need be said with regard to the actors in, or the motives to, this "*Glorious Revolution*."

But though, by these and similar means, and by a pretty free use of the gallows and the scaffold, the aristocracy secured the estates for this time, the thing was by no means *settled* thus. A war with France became necessary "*for the preservation of the Protestant religion*;" that is to say, the quiet possession of the church-estates. To carry on this war, and to bind the monied people to the new government, it was necessary to *borrow money*; and hence arose the *funds*, the *bank*, and the *national debt*. These brought *taxes*, and so heavy as to create great discontents. The people felt themselves loaded with *ten or twelve millions* a year, instead of the *million and a half*, which they had had to pay in the reign of James II.; so that, soon after the accession of George I., the first king of the House of Brunswick, he had to encounter an open rebellion; and the aristocracy, though they had so pared down the independence and power and influence of the people, found it necessary to pare it down still more; and this they effected in the year 1715, by an act, called the *Riot act*, and by another called the *Septennial bill*.

By the first of those laws *all assemblages of the people out of doors* were, in effect, put down. And, why was this? Certainly not because they were favourable to the government. But the *Septennial bill* can leave no

doubt in the mind of any man. One of the charges against the STUARTS was, that they had not called new parliaments *frequently enough*; and that, thus, they had deprived the people of the power of changing their representatives as often as might be necessary. The right of the people was to choose a new parliament *every year*. But, those who introduced William, did not restore this right; but enacted, that, in future there should be a new parliament *every three years*. However, in 1815, they found, that the people had still too much power; and, in this year, they, whom the people had chosen for three years, made a law to authorise themselves to sit for *four years longer*! Aye, and that every future parliament should sit for *seven years* instead of three; though the declaration against the STUARTS stated, that "*new Parliaments ought to be frequently called,*" and that this was an unalienable right of the people of England.

But, audacious as this was in itself, it was less audacious than the pretexts set forth for the passing of the law. These were, that such *frequent* elections were attended with "*grievous expenses*"; that they caused "*violent and lasting heats and animosities*"; and that they might, at this time, favour the views of a "*restless and popish faction in causing the destruction of the peace and security of the government.*" Now, if this had been a *mere faction*, why take away the rights of *all the people*, in order to counteract its restlessness! Why, in order to keep down a mere faction, subvert the fundamental laws and usages of the country, and violate, in this daring manner, the solemn compact so recently entered into between the crown and the people!

It was, then, under the auspices of the *Riot act* and of the *Septennial act* that the House of Brunswick began its reign in England; and, though Mr. CANNING will not, by those who knew him, be deemed much of an authority upon the subject, he did say, in the House of Commons, in 1822, that, if the people of England could have had their will, the House of Brunswick would never have worn the Crown of this kingdom. The dislike of the

people was not, however, to the House of Brunswick, but to the exercise of the power of the aristocracy, who, by this last-mentioned act, left hardly the semblance of power in the hands of the people. The members of that house have, in general, conducted themselves with great moderation; but, in its name, the aristocracy has gone on with its encroachments, which, however, seem at last to be destined to counteract themselves.

The "*glorious revolution*" brought wars; first for the keeping out of James and his family, and second for the preservation of *Holland* and of *Hanover*. These brought debts; and these brought taxes. The American colonies, now the United States, all of which, observe, had been settled by the Stuarts, began, in 1770, to present food for taxation. The parliament (the *septennial* parliament) passed laws to tax them. The Americans had seen how their brethren in England had, by degrees, lost their property and their liberty. They raised the standard of "*No TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION*"; the septennial parliament raised the standard of "*UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION*"; the battle began; and how it ended all the world knows.

It was impossible for these two standards to remain raised for seven years, as they did, without attracting the attention of the world, and particularly of the intelligent and brave people of France, especially as the latter had to take a part in the conflict. The success of the Americans, in conjunction with the armies of France, beckoned to the people of France to follow the bright example. As it was absolutely impossible for Lafayette not to imbibe the principles of Washington, so it was impossible that the French should not imbibe the principles of the Americans. And, now it was that our aristocracy began to see the effects of their septennial system recoil upon themselves. The French people, who, as FORTESCUE clearly shows, had never derived from the Catholic church the benefits which the English had derived from it; the French people, always borne down by a great standing army, while England had none; the French people, pressed to the earth by taxes, partial as well as

cruelly heavy, such as England had, at that time, never heard of; the French people, insulted in their wretchedness by a haughty, a squandering, and most profligate court, and higher clergy; this oppressed and brave people resolved, in 1789, no longer to endure the degrading curse, and, at one single effort, swept away their grinding and insolent aristocracy and clergy, and, in their rage, the throne itself; and, by that act, sent dread into the heart of every aristocrat upon the face of the earth.

Our Septennial law-makers remained, however, spectators for about two years and a half; but, in the meanwhile, the example was working here. The Septennial bill had produced all its natural consequences, wars, debts, and taxation; and, as the cause of the evils was seen, the people had begun, even during the American war, to demand a REFORM IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, as the only cure for existing evils, and as the only security against their recurrence for the future. When the standard of the right of representation had been raised by thirty millions of people only twenty miles from them, those of England could not be expected to be dead to the call. They were not; and it required no long time to convince our aristocracy that one of two things must take place; namely, that the French people must be compelled to return under their ancient yoke; or, that a change must take place in England, restoring to the people *the right of freely choosing their representatives*; the consequences of which, to this aristocracy, were too obvious to need pointing out, even to parties not deeply interested in those consequences. The obstacles to war were very great. There was the DEBT, which, by the unsuccessful American war, had been made to amount to a sum the annual interest of which demanded *six times* the amount of the taxes which had existed in the reign of James II. There were, besides, heavy burdens entailed upon the country by that war on account of half-pay and of other things. On the other hand, we had a most advantageous commercial treaty with France, which the Republicans in France were ready to continue in force. The interests of the people

of England manifestly pointed to peace: their wishes, too, were in favour of peace; and this latter is *proved* by their conduct, and still more clearly by the PROCLAMATIONS for checking French principles; by the ARISTOCRATICAL ASSOCIATIONS formed for that purpose; and by the TERRIBLE LAWS passed for the purpose of cutting off all communication between the people of the two countries.

But the alternative was, *Parliamentary Reform, or put down the Republic of France*. That really was the alternative, and the only one. The former ought to have been chosen; but the latter was resolved on, and that, too, in spite of the acknowledged risk of failure; for, so much did the aristocracy dread the other alternative, that failure, when compared with that, lost all its terrors. To war then they went; in war they continued for twenty-two years, except the short respite procured by the peace of Amiens, which was, in fact, a truce rather than a peace. At the end of twenty-two years, Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France; but of that event, and its causes and consequences, the details will come into the history to which this sketch is an introduction.

During the fight every thing but the dread of the effect of the example of the French appears to have been overlooked by our aristocracy; and, of course, they thought nothing of the DEBT which they were contracting, though that was, as the sequel will show, destined to undo all that they were doing against the French, and to render that parliamentary reform, which it had been their great object to root out of the minds of the people, more necessary and more loudly called for than ever. They had advanced only about six years in the war when they found themselves compelled to resort to a *paper-money*, and to make it a *legal tender*. This was a very important crisis in the affairs of the septennial parliament and of the aristocracy, and the consequences which have resulted, and will result from it, are to be ranked amongst those which decide the fate of governments. Therefore this matter calls for full explanation.

At the time when this war began,

1793, WILLIAM PITT, a son of the late Earl of Chatham, was the Prime Minister. He had established what he called a SINKING FUND, and had adopted other measures for reducing the amount of the DEBT, which had now reached the fearful amount of *two hundred millions* and upwards. A new war was wholly incompatible with Pitt's schemes of reduction; and he, of course, would be, and he *really was, opposed to the war of 1793*, though he carried it on (with the exception of the truce before-mentioned) until the day of his death, which took place in 1806. And here we behold the direct, open, avowed, and all-ruling power of the aristocracy! This body had, for many years, been divided into two "parties," as they called them, bearing the two nick-names of TORIES and WHIGS, the etymology of which is of no consequence. The TORIES affected very great attachment to the *throne and the church*; the WHIGS affected perfect *loyalty*, indeed, but surprising devotion to the *rights of the people*, though it was *they* who had brought the Dutch king and his army, and who had made the Riot act and the Septennial bill; so that, if they were the friends of the people, what must their enemies have been! The truth is, that there was no difference, as far as regarded the people, between these two factions; their real quarrels were solely about *the division of the spoil*; for, whenever any contest arose between the *aristocracy* and the *people*, the two factions had always united in favour of the former; and thus it was in regard to that all-important question, the war against Republican France.

PITT, who was the son of a Whig-Pensioner, and had begun his career, not only as a Whig, but as a parliamentary reformer, was now at the head of the Tories; and CHARLES FOX, who had not only been bred a Tory and begun his career as a Tory, but who had, and who held to the day of his death, *two sinecure offices*, was at the head of the Whigs. These were the two men of the whole collection who could talk loudest, longest, and most fluently, and who were, therefore, picked out by their respective parties to lead in carrying those "DEBATES," as they are called, which have been one of the great means of amusing

and deluding and enslaving this nation. Every effort was made by the respective parties to exalt their champions in the public estimation: they were represented as the two most wonderful men that the world had ever seen: as orators, Pitt was compared to CICERO, and Fox to DEMOSTHENES: Pitt, as a lawgiver surpassed LYCURGUS; Fox more nearly resembled SOLON! The people, always credulous and vain enough as to such matters, carried away by the jugglery, ranged themselves under one or the other of these paragons and took their respective names as marks of honourable distinction; and thus, for thirty long years, were the industrious and sincere and public-spirited people of this country divided into PITTITES and FOXITES; thus were they for those thirty years the sport of the aristocracy who employed these political impostors, while every year of the thirty saw an addition to their burdens and a diminution of their liberties.

In this state stood the factions, when, in 1793, came the question of war against the Republic of France. Pitt, for the reasons before stated, *was decidedly opposed to war*. The portion of the aristocracy that supported him were *for war*; but, they were for their leader too, because, if he quitted his post, Fox came in with the tribe of Whigs at his heels. Besides, a *vast majority of the people*, whether Pittites or Foxites, were against the war. So that Pitt had reason to fear that, with a war on his shoulders, he would be unable to retain his power. But the Foxite portion of the aristocracy, seeing the *common danger*, and seeing the grounds of Pitt's opposition to war, *went over and joined the Pittite party*; leaving Fox with a small party about him, to carry on that "*constitutional opposition*" which was necessary to amuse and deceive the people.

Thus supported by the two bodies of the aristocracy united, Pitt went into this memorable war, which, though attended with numerous important consequences, was attended with none equal, in point of ultimate effect, to the measures by which *paper-money was made a legal tender in 1797*. The aristocracy, in resorting to this expedient, were not at all aware, that, though it

gave them strength for the time, it must, in the end, bereave them of all strength; that it must take from them the means of future wars, or compel them to blow up that system of debts and funds which had been invented by them as a rock of safety, and without the existence of which the whole fabric of their power must go to pieces.

In the meanwhile, however, on they went with the war, and with the struggle between them and the people on the score of *Parliamentary Reform*; the people ascribing the war and all its enormous debts and taxes to the want of that reform, and the aristocracy ascribing their complaints to seditious and treasonable designs, and passing laws to silence them, or punish them accordingly. When this war began (1793) the Septennial bill had been in existence *seventy-nine years*, and that it had produced its natural fruits is clearly proved by the following undeniable facts; namely, that, at the time of the "*Glorious Revolution*," in 1688, one of the charges against King James was, "that he had *violated the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament*;" that, one of the standing laws of parliament is, "that it is a *high crime and misdemeanor in any peer* to interfere in the election of members to serve in the House of Commons;" that, in 1793, Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, presented a petition to the House of Commons, signed by himself and others, stating, "that a *decided majority* of that House was returned *by one hundred and fifty-four men partly peers, and partly great commoners*, and by the ministry *of the day*;" that he offered to prove the allegation by witnesses at the bar of the House, and that he was not permitted to bring his witnesses to the bar; that there was an appendix to this petition, containing a list of the names of all the *peers and great commoners*, who thus returned the members, exhibiting the number of members returned by each, and that this list is recorded in the Annual Register for the year 1793; that, in 1779, the House of Commons had resolved, that *an attempt* to traffic in seats in that House was "*highly criminal in a minister of the king*;" that it was an attack on the dignity and

"honour of the House, an infringement on the rights and liberties of the people, and an attempt to sap the basis of *our free and happy constitution*;" that, on the 25th April, 1809, LORD CASTLEREAGH, then a minister of the king, having been proved to have thus trafficked, the House resolved, "that it was its bounden duty to maintain, at all times, a *jealous guard on its purity*, the attempt in the present instance, *not having been carried into effect*, the House did not think it necessary to proceed to any criminal resolutions;" that, alas! in only sixteen days after this, Mr. MADOCKS, member for Boston, accused this same Castlereagh, together with two other ministers of the king, not only with trafficking in a seat, but of having completed the bargain, and carried it into full effect; that, having made this charge, Mr. Madocks moved, that the House should inquire into the matter; that the House then debated upon this motion; that there were *three hundred and ninety-five* members present; and that (hear it, every honest man on earth!) *three hundred and ten* voted against all inquiry, and that, too, as the speakers in the debate openly declared, "*because this traffick was as notorious as the sun at noon day*"!

Such was the state of things in the year 1809. The next year George III. became, from insanity, incapable of performing the office of king; then, therefore, began the regency of his eldest son and heir apparent. The ten years' reign that followed will be illustrated in the "*History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*," the First Number of which is now published.

TO THE REFORMERS

*Who dined at the London Tavern, on
the 16th of August.*

GENTLEMEN,

AGREEABLY to your instructions, the ADDRESS which we agreed to was engrossed on a sheet of VELLUM; it was signed and sealed by me, as Chairman, agreeably to your resolution; Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, attended by Mr. JAMES COBBETT, set off with it for Paris on the 17th; he presented the ADDRESS by

appointment, at the HOTEL DE VILLE (or City Hall) on the third day after his arrival; the PREFECT OF THE SEINE presided on the occasion, attended by M. LAFAYETTE and a DEPUTATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD, and also by MUNICIPAL OFFICERS, representing the people of Paris; SIR THOMAS and his SECRETARY made speeches upon the occasion, which were answered by the Prefect; who did our Envoy and his Secretary the honour to invite them to a dinner. Every thing took place agreeably to our wishes; and our proceeding, from the beginning to the end, was worthy of men of sincerity and of sense, and calculated to prove to the world, that we are as superior to the boroughmongers in energy as well as in every other estimable quality. We owe in this case, and our cause owes, a great deal to SIR THOMAS BEEVOR, who left at home a harvest spread over a thousand acres of land; who came to London from Norfolk on the Sunday night, who dined with us on the Monday night, who went to Dover on the Tuesday night, who passed the two next nights in a carriage going to Paris, who came back to London on last Friday night, and who went back to Norfolk last Saturday night! That's the man for us! Not a poor shilly-shally creature frightened at a "heavy fall of snow." He has *all* the qualities required; and, like those of the lover who had a virtue for every letter in the alphabet, "though last not least, YOUNG and ZEALOUS." I am sorry that I have not room for the speeches at the HOTEL DE VILLE. I will insert them next week. The mortified ferocious OLD TIMES newspaper said, upon hearing of this reception of these gentlemen at Paris, "*Lord Stuart de Rothsay*, who is, it seems, our ambassador at Paris, ought to have *interfered*, to prevent these Cobbettites from acting thus!" Poor old she-devil, what would she have had *him* do! But, what will she say, when I tell her, that SIR THOMAS BEEVOR and his secretary of legation, when they went to hear the debates in the Chamber of Deputies, were seated in the *Lodge of the Corps Diplomatique*! Ah! the days of deception are gone; the government of France is no longer under the beck of the English Ministry: France is no

longer a *Colony*! I hope they will send deputations from Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, and other places. They have had a noble meeting at Manchester. I shall be happy to give any body information as to the mode of proceeding in the sending of address, &c.

COBBETT'S LECTURES.

ON MONDAY EVENING NEXT, the 6th instant, Mr. COBBETT will deliver a Lecture to Working People, at the ROTUNDA, Surrey-Road, near the foot of Blackfriars-Bridge. The Lecture to begin at *eight o'clock*. The payment for entrance *twopence each person*. The proceeds to go to the *widows and orphans* of the brave men, who recently lost their lives at Paris, in defending their country against the tyranny of would-be French Boroughmongers.—N.B. There will be another Lecture, at the *same hour and place*, on Thursday next.

Were published, 1st September,

The 14th and last Number of Cobbett's *Advice to Young Men*, price 6d.

The 3rd Number of *Two-Penny Trash*.

The 1st Number of *Cobbett's History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*. Price 8d.

SUBSCRIPTION

FOR WIDOWS AND ORPHANS AT PARIS.

I HAVE received two pounds from Stow-market, Suffolk, which I have paid to the fund, and entered in the book. Divers other subscriptions have come from the country. I collected, on Monday, at the Rotunda, from nearly a *thousand working men, twopence each*. I shall continue to do this for another week or two. And then, if I can possibly find time, I will go and do the same in *Warwickshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire*. It is the pennies of the *working people*, that I want to present to widows and orphans of their brave brethren of Paris.